

NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE, 1909-1959 — NEW YORK CITY JULY 13-19

# The Crisis

APRIL, 1959

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NEVER  
TOO YOUNG  
TO LEARN  
THE MEANING  
OF  
FREEDOM

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# WANTED 50 ! LEADERS

**a unique opportunity to  
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the 50th anniversary of  
the NAACP in a truly  
significant way**

Among the readers of this magazine, we seek 50 dedicated leaders. As a magnificent inspiration to our 50th Anniversary Celebration and to our 1959 Fighting Fund for Freedom Dinner, we ask each of these 50 devoted people to assume the responsibility for securing, beyond the activities of his local NAACP chapter, at least \$5,000 in funds. This sorely needed financial support may be secured by making a personal contribution, by securing Life Memberships, by soliciting contributions to the Fighting Fund for Freedom, or by any combination of these three methods. The challenge is great; so is the need. Let the leaders step forward now.

Write, wire or phone to any of the three co-chairmen listed below.

KIVIE KAPLAN

JACKIE ROBINSON

DR. GEORGE CANNON

**Care of NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 16, N. Y.**

# THE CRISIS

Founded 1910  
REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

## A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy

Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn,  
Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

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April, 1959

#### COVER

Lucille Shade, 20, is the daughter of Mrs. Shade of North Carolina. She majored in sociology at Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, N. C., but is now a student in a business college in New York City. She plans to study mathematics and science at Columbia University.—Cecil Layne  
Photo

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CRISIS



DR. HENRY MOSKOWITZ, who was at one time prominent in the administration of New York City Mayor John Purroy Mitchell (1914-1917), met with Mr. Walling and Miss Ovington the first week of 1909 to do something about reviving the spirit of the abolitionist as suggested in "The Race War in the North." He was a signer, too, of *The Call*.



MOORFIELD STOREY, a distinguished Boston attorney, was the first president of the NAACP, serving for nine years, from 1910 to 1929. He won the important case of abolishing the notorious Grandfather Clause which had acted as a bar to Negro voting in the South. He was also responsible for many other important advances in the fight of the Negro for full citizenship. "He wanted above all things," says Miss Ovington, "to see the Association become a power."

■ A relative of an NAACP founder speaks at the fiftieth anniversary of the call

# A Needed Organization\*

By Lloyd K. Garrison

THE "Lincoln Birthday Call" of 1909, for a conference which led to the founding of the NAACP, was a ringing document. It was forthright and brave, and it changed the course of history.

I am proud that two of my relatives were among the signers, that one of them drafted it and also drafted the constitution of the NAACP, and that a third signer was related to my wife.

The NAACP, for its part, was concerned from the outset with the shortcomings of law and government. Its founders were aroused by the discrepancy between our Constitutional guarantees of liberty, equality

and due process of law, and the structure of segregation and discrimination which had been erected to defeat these guarantees. The NAACP leaders sought to break down this structure by appeals to the Courts and the legislatures and by searching investigations and vigorous public agitation.

Both types of organizations were needed. Both have served America well and truly. Nothing in my life has given me more satisfaction than to have participated, in whatever small degree, in the work of both.

As one reads today the Call of 1909, one is struck by its sharp criticisms of the Supreme Court of the United States, as well as of other judges, for their acquiescence in the whole structure of segregation and discrimination based on color.

What an extraordinary change has taken place in the last 50 years! Now it is the Supreme Court, and the lower federal courts — yes, and even some of the Southern state courts like the Supreme Court of

\* An address delivered at the fiftieth anniversary founder's observance of the NAACP on February 12, 1959, at the Community Church of New York City.

LLOYD K. GARRISON is a great-grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, a cousin of Oswald Garrison Villard, author of *The Call*, and chairman of the National Legal Committee of the NAACP.

President  
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Virginia — which are striking down the last legal vestiges of this same structure of segregation and discrimination which they were upholding less than two generations ago.

In all of American history no such far-reaching change, directly affecting the lives and fortunes of so many millions of people, has ever been peacefully effected in so short a time. We are in fact witnessing a Constitutional revolution, which is remaking the social and economic fabric of America.

How was this monumental change brought about? Many factors of course contributed to it, such as the churning effects of two world wars and of desegregation within the Armed services, the rising economic and political power of colored people, and the quiet courage and determination of many an unsung hero both white and black, who risked their lives to see that justice was done and that the face of humanity was not disfigured. But the change could not have been accomplished without the courageous work of the NAACP staff in their exposure of the truth and in the series of litigations brilliantly conducted by the lawyers of the Legal Aid and Welfare Fund. No lawyers in my life-time have devoted themselves to a higher or more difficult task of statesmanship than those men, led by the honorable Thurgood Marshall and aided by able volunteers from law schools and private practice. Theirs was a task which at the beginning seemed well-nigh impossible. Its achievement has been a triumph not merely of inspired advocacy but of character and vision, without which we are

told in the Bible the people perish but with which miracles are wrought.

#### LEGAL PRINCIPLES

Then is all done that must be done? Has the happy day come when there will be no more need of organizations such as the NAACP or the Legal Aid and Defense Fund? Unfortunately, not yet.

While the essential legal principles have now been established, they will have to be enforced in practice by many a wearying law suit and by such legislative aids as Congress and the States can be induced to grant. For years to come these legal processes will have to work their salutary way before first-class citizenship for all Americans can be made a reality throughout the land; and for years to come, therefore, the NAACP will have more than enough work to do.

I call these legal processes "salutary" because they represent much more than the use of governmental force; they are educational in the deepest sense. Court decisions which break with old ways do actually change men's minds, not all at once but faster than we are apt to think. They alter community attitudes and develop new pathways of behavior and new ideas of what is right and wrong. If this were not so all government would break down; there would not be force enough to sustain it.

This educational potency of law is especially strong where the courts or legislatures are dealing with issues of human liberty and invoking Constitutional guarantees. Prone as we Americans are to break the law in minor matters, we have an abiding

respect for the great documents which gave birth to our country, for the Declaration of Independence with its assertion that all men are "created equal", with "unalienable rights. . . to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; and for the Constitution of the United States whose announced purpose was "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." These phrases from the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution have echoed through our minds in every generation, from earliest childhood to the grave, and we could not deny them, save momentarily, even if we tried. They have been reinforced by the most powerful symbols and solemn pronouncements which men could devise.

Thus the signers of the Declaration pledged to its support "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors," and ten years later, when their country's independence had been won, the framers of the Constitution provided in Article VI that "this Constitution . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every *State* shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any *State* to the contrary notwithstanding." Article VI further provided that "the Senators and Representatives, and the Members of the several *State* Legislatures, and all Executive and Judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several *States*, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution. . . ."

#### JUDICIAL POWER

And then in Article III the framers provided that "the judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in *one Supreme Court*, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish"; and that this judicial power, culminating in one Supreme Court, should extend among other things to "all cases . . . arising under the Constitution. . . ."

These great declarations of the supremacy of the Constitution and of the judicial power that interprets it, are part of the very air we breathe. If there is anything enduring in American life it is our respect for the Constitution, as expounded by that Court which our forefathers made supreme above all others. I believe that even in the South today, when the voices of some are raised most loudly against that Court, and when its decisions come into conflict with sectional habits and prejudices, its influence nevertheless is making its way inexorably, underneath all appearances, quietly changing people's ways of looking at things, and bringing slowly but surely into being a new dawning of liberty under law.

I have no doubt of this whatever. The striking down of Virginia's school segregation laws by its own courts, and the beginnings of peaceful school integration which have just taken place there, are signs of the deep changes that are being wrought. \*

There will of course be set-backs and resistances before we are through, but in historical terms the new American democracy, which will be the truest and the best we have

ever known, is already in sight and no man or group can stop its coming, or dim the splendor of its image.

Let us all rejoice that this is so and be glad that we are Americans, and that by counseling together and doing our hearts' bidding we have been, and will be, participating in the great outcome. And let us keep in mind one other thing. Leaders in the struggle for freedom, among them my great-grandfather in the abolitionist movement, Ghandi in India, and Martin Luther King in Alabama, have demonstrated to the world that it is possible to wage militant and successful campaigns while adhering to the ancient commandment that men should love one another, even their enemies. The

doctrine of non-violence, of compassion and forgiveness for those who would meet love with hate, has not only been in accord with Christian commandment; it *has worked*; and indeed it is the *only* doctrine which in a struggle over moral issues can win the day.

Let us who wish with all our strength to strike down every form of segregation and discrimination make sure that we, too, like those who have gone before us, hold fast to the divine command. This we can do without relaxing *one iota* in our efforts or compromising with a single principle; and this we *must* do if we would change the minds and hearts of our opponents and truly serve the cause of freedom.

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*Bew H. Fong, owner of Reno's New China Club symbolized the spirit of racial amity in Nevada by kicking off the 1959 membership drive of the Reno branch by himself becoming the first paid-up NAACP life member in the state. Mr. Fong (far R) gave his \$500 payment to a committee composed of Frances Walters, branch entertainment chairman and secretary of the New China Club; Leroy Badie, branch treasurer; Margaret Badie, receiving check, chairman life membership committee; and U. S. Woodward, branch president.*



DR. JOHN J. CRITIC,  
NAACP  
the Asst. chairman  
the branch

APRIL, 1959



DR. JOEL E. SPINGARN, internationally famous scholar, distinguished literary critic, and one-time Columbia University professor, was second president of NAACP, serving from 1930 to 1939. Dr. Spingarn served in many capacities with the Association: in addition to the presidency he was treasurer, 1920-30, and chairman of the board 1913-18. He gave liberally of his time and money during the early years of the Association. Present NAACP president Arthur B. Spingarn, is his brother.



*Governor Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey signs the 50th anniversary proclamation declaring February 12 as NAACP day.*



*Governor Albert B. Chandler of Kentucky signs a proclamation making February 12 a statewide observance of the 50th anniversary of the NAACP.*



*Mayor Harry Clew of Portland, Oregon, proclaims February 12 as 50th anniversary day of the NAACP.*

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# Women in the NAACP

By Gloster B. Current

WOMEN have played a very important part in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since the day it was conceived in the minds of William English Walling and Mary White Ovington. Walling's article, "The Race War in the North," in the *Independent*, September 3, 1908, inspired Miss Ovington, a New York social worker, to write him agreeing that the "spirit of the abolitionists must be revived," and after a meeting in a New York City apartment, they decided to call a conference in New York City.

The famous Lincoln Birthday *Call* which they issued on February 12 of that year was signed by a number of women, including Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, Chicago; Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch, New York; Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Chicago; Kate H. Claghorn, New York; Mary E. Dreier, Brooklyn; Mrs. Florence Kelly, New York; Helen Marot, New York; Mary E. Mc-

Dowell, Chicago; Leonora O'Reilly, New York; Mary White Ovington, New York; Dr. Jane Robbins, New York; Anna Garlin Spencer, New York; Helen Stokes, Boston, Lillian D. Wald, New York; Mrs. Rodman Wharton, Philadelphia; Susan P. Wharton, Philadelphia; President Mary E. Wooley, Mt. Holyoke College.

Women were among the principal speakers at the National Negro Conference which was held May 31 and June 1, 1909, in New York City, out of which came the organization of the NAACP. Among them were Mrs. Celia Parker Wooley, head worker at the Frederick Douglass Center, Chicago, who served as chairman of the afternoon session, May 31, and Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Chicago.

Mrs. Wooley, in her address on "Race Reconciliation," noted that "the color problem does not pertain to this country alone, still less to a particular section of the country," and said that "sectional feeling has no place in the settlement of this problem...." She pointed out that the "greatest need of the Negro

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GLOSTER B. CURRENT is director of branches of the NAACP and a frequent contributor to *The Crisis*.

in this country is the discriminating friendship of the white man. The Negro suffers from a wholesale judgement that makes no distinctions or exceptions."

Mrs. Wooley did not minimize the Negro's share of responsibility for "the situation from which he and we suffer. I do not forget the mass of black idleness, ignorance and vice with which the social reformer must deal." She took cognizance of the attainment of individuals such as Washington, DuBois, Kelly Miller, Scarborough, Kealing, and the Grimké brothers, despite handicaps:

No one knows so well as these how deep and dire, how constant and pressing are the needs in the lower stratum of Negro life, not in the South alone but in the large cities of the North.

Mrs. Wooley was unafraid to discuss the problem of miscegenation which plagues segregationists even today:

If race mixture, particularly the mixture of black and white, is of such injurious effect, let us address our arguments and appeals, our warnings and rebukes, to the guilty party—the white man of the South and of the North. Let us attack the crime and the crime's punishment to the sinning factor, and not darken innocent lives and increase ill-doing, punishing the guiltless progeny of such unions. The attitude of the average mind, learned or unlearned, on this phase of the question is as shameless as it is cruel in its open connivance at crime and social misdoing. The majority of people care very little about race mixture so long as it keeps itself safe from polite observation under the dark cloak of illicit practices. It is only when seeking to lift itself from the level of passion and shield it-

self in honest marriage, graced and upheld by the moralities and amenities of the home, that the sense of moral outrage is aroused. A strange anomaly.

#### PROFESSIONS OF BROTHERHOOD

Mrs. Wooley also said that this "timely" conference "should be the beginning of a permanent organization, with branches in every large center, whose work is to complete the upbuilding of the republic, to make good our professions of human brotherhood." Almost prophetically she called for its aim to be two-fold:

. . . To arouse the sense of responsibility among the more privileged and powerful, where social favor and opportunity are found on the white man's side. Its work for the black man is to help and encourage in all ways which conduce to a high and self-respecting, self-sustaining type of manhood.

Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, a Negro, also a fighting liberal and a former newspaperwoman spoke at the Conference on "Lynching, Our National Crime." About lynching she said that it is "color line murder;" that "crime against women is the excuse, not the cause;" and that "it is a national crime and requires a national remedy." She called for federal protection as a remedy and urged the conference "to establish a bureau for the investigation and publication of the details of every lynching, so that the public could know that an influential body of citizens has made it a duty to give the widest publicity to the facts in each case; that it will make an effort to secure expressions of opinion all over the country against lynching for the sake of the country's fair name; and last-

<sup>1</sup> Mary White Ovington, *The Walls Come Tumbling Down*, p. 106.

ly, but by no means least, to try to influence the daily papers of the country to refuse to become accessory to mobs either before or after the fact."

Mrs. Barnett observed, as in many instances today, that newspapers incited some of the greatest riots by the treatment of accounts of alleged crimes. To deal with these grave questions "presented by the slaughter of innocent men, women and children, there should be an honest, courageous conference of patriotic, law-abiding citizens anxious to punish crime promptly, impartially and by due process of law, also to make life, liberty and property secure against mob rule," she declared.

Evidently, Mrs. Barnett was very outspoken in this first meeting, for Miss Ovington in her book, *The Walls Come Tumbling Down*, says she was a "powerful" personality "not fitted to accept the restraint of organization." The Committee on Nominations omitted her name, but Mrs. Barnett "took her complaints to [Charles Edward] Russell who quite illegally, but wisely, put her on the Committee."<sup>1</sup>

The NAACP was first organized as a committee of forty, of which the first secretary was a woman, Frances Blascoer, an "excellent organizer," according to Miss Ovington. Women who served on the Executive Committee of the General Committee now known as the NAACP, included Gertrude Barnum, New York; Maud R. Ingersoll, New York; Mrs. Florence Kelly, New York; Mrs. F. R. Keyser, New York; Mrs. M. D. MacLean, New York; Mrs. Max Morgenthau, Jr., New

York; Leonora O'Reilly, New York; Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer, New York; Mrs. Henry Villard, Lillian D. Wald, also of New York; M. R. Lyons and Mary White Ovington, Brooklyn; Mrs. M. B. Talbert, Buffalo, New York; Maria Baldwin, Boston; Elizabeth C. Carter, New Bedford, Massachusetts; Jane Addams, Mrs. Ida Wells Barnett, Sophronisba Breckenridge, Mrs. Celia Parker Wooley, Chicago, Illinois; Susan Wharton, Philadelphia; and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, Washington, D. C.

#### DISTINGUISHED PARTICIPANTS

The NAACP was chartered as a New York corporation in 1911. Miss Ovington was one of the five original signers of the certificate of incorporation, along with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, and Walter E. Sachs. The thirty-man board of directors of the original corporation included eight women: Mary White Ovington, Mrs. Florence Kelly, Mrs. Frances R. Keyser, Mrs. Mary D. MacLean, Lillian D. Wald, of New York; Jane Addams and Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett of Chicago, Illinois; and Mrs. Mary Church Terrell of Washington, D. C.

In 1911, Mary Church Terrell and Madame Azalea made speeches for the Association presenting the cause of the Negro woman in the Berkeley Theater on December 7, 1911, under the sponsorship of a number of distinguished New York women, telling of the economic progress of women since emancipation.

Women have served on the Association's Board of Directors through-

out its existence. In addition to the original members, women on the National Board have included Mrs. Max Morgenthau, Jr., New York; Mrs. Nannie H. Burroughs, Washington; Mrs. Ella Rush Murray, New York; Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, New York; Mrs. Maggie L. Walker, Richmond; Lucy R. Mason, New York; Marion Cuthbert, Brooklyn; Rachel Davis DuBois, New York; Frances Williams, New York; L. Pearl Mitchell, Cleveland; Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson, Newark; Dr. Elizabeth Yates Webb, Washington, D. C.; Honorable Caroline O'Day, New York; Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn, New York; Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hyde Park; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Baltimore; Honorable Jane M. Bolin, New York; Mrs. Jessie L. Vann, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Daisy Bates, Little Rock, and Mrs. Doretha Combre, Lake Charles, La.

Vice-Presidents of the Association have included such outstanding women as Miss Ovington, Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, Mrs. Nannie H. Burroughs, Honorable Caroline O'Day, Mary McLeod Bethune, L. Pearl Mitchell, Marion Cuthbert, and Mrs. Grace Fenderson.

For many years Miss Ovington served as treasurer of the organization and functioned in that office until shortly before her death in 1951.

Women have served in staff positions with the NAACP since its beginning. In addition to Frances Blascoer, the first secretary who carried on in that capacity until 1911, Miss Ovington also served as secretary in 1912; May Childs Nerney served as executive secretary

from 1914 to January 3, 1916 when she resigned. For several years the managing editor of *The Crisis* was a woman, Mrs. Mary Dunlop MacLean, one of the organizers of the movement. She died in 1913.

Richetta Randolph, first secretary in the office, served until her retirement in 1945.

The first field secretary who specialized in conducting membership campaigns was Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin who began in 1929, working principally in the midwest. She continued as ace producer until her retirement in 1947. Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, of Baltimore, wife of Clarence Mitchell, served as the first youth secretary, joining the staff in 1936.

Other women who have worked in staff positions are Charlotte B. Crump, publicity and promotion; Ella J. Baker, field secretary and director of branches; Odette Harper, publicity; Connie Young, publicity; Shirley Graham (Mrs. DuBois), field secretary; Mrs. Irvena Ming and Noma Jensen, field secretaries; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, youth secretary and now southeast regional secretary; Lucille Black, membership secretary; Marion O. Bond (Mrs. Jordan) and her sister Mildred Bond, life membership secretary; Anne Brown (Mrs. Smith); Leah Brock, Gertrude Gorman and Serena Davis.

The Legal staff has included women attorneys: Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry Yankauer, and the present Mrs. Constance Baker Motley.

#### WOMEN IN BRANCHES

When the NAACP began to organize in the South, much of the

organizing was done by women. In the latter part of 1918, Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, president of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs and a member of the Association's Board of Directors, recruited a group of six women to tour the South to promote the sale of war bonds during the Fourth Liberty Loan Campaign. While on this tour, in connection with her work in Louisiana and Texas, Mrs. Talbert organized branches of the NAACP in Dallas, Ft. Worth, Austin, San Antonio, Galveston, Beaumont, Marshall, Texarkana, Texas; Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Alexandria, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Many NAACP branches have been led by women and some have served continuously for a number of years. One of the longest terms of office has been served by Mrs. Lillian Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch since 1935. Others who have served in that capacity include Mrs. Georginne Morris, Des Moines; Mrs. Florence Lesueur, Boston; Mrs. Cora Patton Andrews, Chicago; Mrs. Lula B. White, Houston; Mrs. Val Phillips and Mrs. Wilbur Halyard, Milwaukee; Mrs. Jessie Jacobs, Indianapolis; Attorney Florence V. Lucas, Jamaica, New York; Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison, Huntington, West Virginia; Mrs. Fetta Holland, Knoxville, Tennessee, and many others.

Women are serving as state presidents in Arkansas, among whom are Mrs. L. C. Bates, leader in the fight for integration in the public schools of Little Rock; Mrs. Mayola B. Marsh, Colorado; Mrs. Edna Morris, a public school teacher, Indiana;

Mrs. Doretha Combre, business woman of Lake Charles, Louisiana; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, Maryland, board member and business woman; Mrs. E. P. Beshears, social worker, Missouri; Mrs. Ruth M. Batson, business woman, New England; and Mrs. Effie Gordon, business woman, New York.

Local branches could not function without women. One out of ten branch presidents, one hundred and eight, and more than fifty per cent (669) of the branch secretaries are women.

Executive secretaries of branches have included Mrs. Miley O. Williamson, Dayton; Willie M. Whiting, Chicago; Mrs. C. V. Adair, Houston; and Mrs. Carolyn Davenport Moore, formerly of Philadelphia and Mrs. Marion Bond Jordan, Pittsburgh.

Women have helped to raise a substantial portion of the Association's funds. As membership chairmen they have led many branches in the conduct of membership and fund raising campaigns.

Nationally known women's organizations have always aided the work of the NAACP, including such groups as the National Association of Colored Women, the sororities, including Alpha Kappa Alpha, Delta Sigma Theta, Sigma Gamma Rho, Phi Delta Kappa, Zeta Phi Beta. Such national women's social clubs as the Links, Girl Friends, Gay Northerners have taken out life memberships and raised considerable sums of money.

The NAACP is deeply indebted to women for its progress, for without their aid, it could not function so effectively.

**WOMEN OFFICERS  
OF NAACP BRANCHES**

**Total Branches: 850**

<i>State</i>	<i>Presidents</i>	<i>Secretaries</i>		
Alaska		2	Mississippi	13
Arizona		5	Missouri	16
Arkansas	1	15	Montana	1
California	11	38	Nebraska	2
Colorado	2	2	New Hampshire	1
Connecticut	7	12	Nevada	3
Delaware		5	New Jersey	30
Florida		21	New Mexico	5
Georgia		17	New York	40
Illinois	6	24	North Carolina	61
Indiana	4	19	Ohio	28
Iowa	4	11	Oklahoma	21
Kansas	3	20	Oregon	2
Kentucky	1	12	Pennsylvania	30
Louisiana	1	2	Rhode Island	2
Maryland	6	12	South Carolina	25
Massachusetts	1	8	Tennessee	7
Michigan	1	22	Texas	40
Minnesota		3	Utah	1
			Virginia	67
			Washington	7
			West Virginia	13
			Wisconsin	4
			108	669



**THE NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE  
1909-1959**

**50th Annual NAACP Convention**

**New York City — July 13-19**



*Sixty Minutes*

SACRAMENTO'S first junior life member is Ralph Anderson, Jr., who is being presented with his junior NAACP life membership plaque by his uncle, Attorney Douglas R. Greer, president of the Sacramento, California, branch.



WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING, author of "The Race War in the North" and the challenge: ". . . And what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?"

# The Race War in the North

By William English Walling

It was this article, here excerpted, by Mr. Walling (*The Independent*, September 3, 1908), that moved the late Mary White Ovington to accept the question which the author posed at the end: ". . . And what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?" "Here was a white man," says Mis Ovington, "who called upon both races, in the spirit of the abolitionist to come forward and right the nation's wrongs." Then came *The Call* and the succession of meetings which eventuated in the NAACP, as described in the February *Crisis*, "How the NAACP Began."

**L**INCOLN freed you, we'll show you where you belong," was one of the cries with which the Springfield mob set about to drive the Negroes from town. The mob was composed of several thousand of Springfield's white citizens, while other thousands, including many women and children, and even prosperous business men in automobiles, calmly looked on, and the rioters proceeded hour after hour and on two days in succession to make deadly assaults on every Negro they could lay their hands on, to sack and plunder their houses and stores, and to burn and murder on favorable occasion.

The American people have been fairly well informed by their news-

papers of the action of that mob; they have also been told of certain alleged political and criminal conditions in Springfield and of the two crimes in particular which are offered by the mob itself as sufficient explanation of why six thousand peaceful and innocent Negroes should be driven by the fear of their lives from a town where some of them have lived honorably for half a hundred years. We have been assured by more cautious and indirect defenders of Springfield's populace that there was an exceptionally criminal element among the Negroes encouraged by the bosses of both political parties. And now, after a few days of discussion, we are satisfied with these explanations, and demand



Cecil Layne

**MRS. WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING**, widow of Mr. Walling, surrounded by senior NAACP stalwarts at the Association's fiftieth anniversary observance held in the Community Church of New York City on February 12—Lloyd K. Garrison, chairman NAACP national legal committee; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman national NAACP board; and Arthur B. Spingarn, national president.

only the punishment of those who took the most active part in the destruction of life and property. Assuming that there were exceptionally provocative causes for complaint against the Negroes, we have closed our eyes to the whole awful and menacing truth—that a large part of the white population of Lincoln's home, supported largely by the farm-

ers and miners of the neighboring towns, have initiated a permanent warfare with the Negro race.

We do not need to be informed at great length of the character of this warfare. It is in all respects like that of the South, on which it is modeled. Its significance is threefold. First, that it has occurred in an important and historical Northern town; then,

that the Negroes, constituting scarcely more than a tenth of the population, in this case could not possibly endanger the "supremacy" of the whites, and finally, that the public opinion of the North, notwithstanding the fanatical, blind and almost insane hatred of the Negro so clearly shown by the mob, is satisfied that there were "mitigating circumstances," not for the mob violence, which, it is agreed should be punished to the full extent of the law, but for the race hatred, which is really the cause of it all. If these outrages had happened thirty years ago, when the memories of Lincoln, Garrison and Wendell Phillips were still fresh, what would not have happened in the North? Is there any doubt that the whole country would have been aflame, that all flimsy explanations and "mitigating circumstances" would have been thrown aside, and that the people of Springfield would have had to prove to the nation why they proposed to drive the Negroes out, to hold a whole race responsible for a handful of criminals, and to force it to an inferior place on the social scale?

For the underlying motive of the mob and of that large portion of Springfield's population that has long said that "something was bound to happen, and now approves of the riot and proposes to complete its purpose by using other means to drive as many as possible of the remaining two-thirds of the Negroes out of town, was confessedly to teach the Negroes their place and to warn them that too many could not obtain shelter under the favorable traditions of Lincoln's home town. I talked to many of them the day after

the massacre and found no difference of opinion on the question, "Why, the niggers came to think they were as good as we are!" was the final justification offered, not once, but a dozen times.

On the morning after the first riot I was in Chicago and took the night train for Springfield, where I have often visited and am almost at home. On arriving in the town I found that the rioting had been continued throughout the night, and was even feared for the coming evening, in spite of the presence of nearly the whole militia of the State. Although we visited the Mayor, military headquarters, the leading newspaper, and some prominent citizens, my wife and I gave most of our attention to the hospital, the Negro quarters and the jail.

We at once discovered, to our amazement, that Springfield had no shame. She stood for the action of the mob. She hoped the rest of the Negroes might flee. She threatened that the movement to drive them out would continue. I do not speak of the leading citizens, but of the masses of the people, of the workingmen in the shops, the storekeepers in the stores, the drivers, the men on the street, the wounded in the hospitals. . . .

The menace is that if this thing continues it will offer *automatic rewards* to the riotous elements and Negro haters in Springfield, make the reign of terror permanent there, and offer every temptation to similar white elements in other towns to imitate Springfield's example. . . .

Either the spirit of the abolitionists, of Lincoln and of Lovejoy must

*(Continued on page 252)*

# The Reviewer Missed the Point . . .

By Bertram P. Karon

I WAS appalled and somewhat saddened by the review of my book, *The Negro Personality*, which appeared in the January, 1959, *Crisis*. It is unfortunate that the reviewer missed the whole point of the book. Since no hint of any of this appeared in the review, let me tell you what it is about.

Several hundred people were examined psychologically. By a careful statistical design it was possible to demonstrate once and for all in a scientifically rigorous fashion:

(1) That there are no hereditary differences between Negroes and whites in personality characteristics.

(2) That the patterns of segregation and discrimination against Negroes in the United States account for any differences in personality characteristics which may occur be-

tween northern and southern Negroes and between Negroes and whites.

(3) That the patterns of segregation and discrimination tend to increase the frequency of certain personality characteristics, which are described in detail. All but one of these represent malfunctioning, so that the nature of the destructive impact of segregation and discrimination is demonstrated conclusively.

(4) That the arguments which are usually raised, by apologists for the existing patterns of segregation and discrimination, to account for the findings of previous research cannot account for these findings. It is demonstrated that neither the degree of industrialization, the population density, the fact that most southern Negroes live in rural areas, the lack of education, the lower intelligence test scores (but not lower intelligence), the age distribution, nor the sex ratio will in themselves account for the increase in these personality characteristics. Even the last hope of the

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BERTRAM P. KARON, a Ph. D. from Princeton University who is now doing psychological research in Akron, Ohio, is the author of *The Negro Personality*.

apologist, the possibility of "sampling error" is eliminated as a reasonable explanation.

(5) The differences within the South between the personality characteristics of Negroes living under severe caste sanctions and those living under less severe conditions show that even a small improvement is worth working for, since there will be an appreciable decrease in the human cost.

Dr. Smythe's review states that there are "innumerable studies far superior to this pitiful little monograph that long ago dealt far more thoroughly, accurately, precisely and vividly with the Negro than anything one can find here." But, except for studies of intelligence test scores, there have been no studies which establish that the caste sanctions have an appreciable effect on personality characteristics and which rigorously show that the findings cannot be accounted for by age, sex, education, apparent intelligence, rural-urban residence, degree of industrialization, population density, or sampling error. While the statements in my book are not new, in the sense that, along with many other statements, they have been made before, they have now been established rigorously in a way that any social scientist can duplicate and therefore they gain the credibility of objective science.

#### OPINIONS vs. INSIGHTS

There is a difference between the opinions of insightful individuals, or even the field observations of acute observers, and a fact scientifically demonstrated by the psychological examination of hundreds of people,

carried out in a systematically designed experiment with all the control and rigor that the modern knowledge of statistical inference allows. This book represents the better part of five years of work. *The Negro Personality* is a little book because I was not interested in saying many things but in establishing a few things for certain, and establishing them in a way that no honest reader could ignore. I am a psychologist and an applied statistician, and not primarily a sociologist. My contribution lies in the fact that the people studied were examined with the tools of the clinical psychologist to reveal even the things one does not ordinarily tell oneself, and the fact that the statistical design allowed me to draw conclusions with more precision and surety than in any previous work and to demonstrate scientifically what we might have believed, but what has never previously been so demonstrated—that whatever personality characteristics might be more frequent among southern Negroes than northern Negroes or than whites are due to the patterns of segregation and discrimination which are enforced against them and not to heredity or to any of the other social factors which one will find raised by those who defend the existing patterns of segregation and discrimination.

Undoubtedly, Dr. Smythe was well intentioned, but somewhat hasty in his judgments. Apparently, he has been provoked by a number of previous books (the review is full of "like so many others," "a fault common to almost everyone doing contemporary research on the American Negro," etc.) and vowed to himself that

he should vent his feelings on the next one of that ilk. Unfortunately, the review simply does not fit my book—I am accused of statements which I have not only never made, but which I contradict flatly again and again in *The Negro Personality*. Consider, for example, Dr. Smythe's statement about me that:

#### REVIEW DOES NOT FIT

Thinking, like so many other whites who pretend to scholarship, that he can climb to fame on the backs of Negroes while at the same time, again like so many others, continuing to make him out to be a sub-species of mankind . . .

and compare it with the following statements from my book:

... it would be a mistake to think of a group like the American Negro as having, as a result of the caste sanctions, a single 'basic' personality. Inasmuch as the United States is a complex society, there is no single 'basic' personality common to all Americans, and the American Negro shares in the diverse American personality structures. Grafted upon these are the special problems involved in adjusting to the caste sanctions. (p. 4)

\* \* \*

... when we say that a personality characteristic was found to 'increase' in the southern Negro . . . , we mean not that each southern Negro had a little bit more of that trait . . . , but that the percentage of southern Negroes apparently characterized by that attribute is greater . . . (p. 171)

\* \* \*

It has been clearly established that the caste sanctions have an effect on the personality structures of the people who feel them, and that this

effect is reflected in eleven characteristics. The fact that northern Negroes differ from southern Negroes on precisely the same characteristics and in the same way as do northern whites served to eliminate the possibility that these traits represented hereditary differences between Negroes and whites. Thus, the caste sanctions not only have an effect upon personality, but these effects are sufficient to account for the differences in personality between Negroes and whites. (p. 171)

\* \* \*

Unlike Dr. Smythe's hypothetical author, I not only do not continue to make the Negro out to be a sub-species of mankind, but explicitly state that there is no such thing as a distinct Negro personality, whether environmentally or hereditarily based, and demonstrate empirically that there are no hereditary differences in personality traits between Negroes and whites, but that there are certain personality characteristics which tend to be more common among people who are subjected to the patterns of segregation and discrimination enforced against Negroes in the American South.

Dr. Smythe objects to my use of the term "American caste system" for the American pattern of segregation and discrimination against Negroes, an objection to which he is entitled. But when he says that I do not know that "there has never been a caste system in the U. S. A. but more precisely what is called a *caste-like* pattern," one would gather that he was referring to some error of fact and not merely a difference in terminology. I state in my book again and again that the word "caste" refers to

(Continued on page 252)

# Along the N.A.C.P. Battlefront

## PUPIL ASSIGNMENT LAWS

As long as present pupil assignment laws are used to restrict drastically the admission of Negro children to previously all-white schools, it will be necessary to "encourage a substantial number of applications," Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, declared at an annual Unitarian dinner.

Speaking at the All Souls Unitarian Church in Washington, D. C., on February 22, Mr. Wilkins referred to the "pained responses from many Virginia sources" to his recommendation in an address at Portsmouth, Virginia, on February 15 that Negroes "by the hundreds" apply for transfers and admissions to schools from which they have been excluded solely on the basis of race.

"What I was saying at Portsmouth," the NAACP leader asserted, "was that so long as opponents use the pupil assignment process as an instrument to balk desegregation, or to 'control' it in the Norfolk ratio of 17/100 of one percent or other unrealistic ratios (as in North Carolina) we must encourage a substantial number of applications in order to secure more than a trickle of admissions."

He cited the example of Norfolk where there were originally 151 applicants only 17 of whom were finally admitted to schools with a total enrollment of 10,000. "If this tortuous procedure were to be accepted uncomplainingly by Negro citizens, and the same ratio were to be maintained, it would require roughly 2,500 applications to secure 250 admissions—and this number would be only two and one-half percent of the white students enrolled," he pointed out.

Of the role of leaders and members of Local 371 of the Textile Workers in the Front Royal high school boycott and economic reprisals, Mr. Wilkins said: "Irony is piled on top of irony when a unit of organized labor—which is presently being investigated and smeared and, in some instances, persecuted—should in turn become the leader in persecuting Negro workers and their families, whose only 'crime' is the seeking of equal education for for children under a Supreme Court ruling and through the orderly procedures of the courts."

The NAACP leader also reaffirmed the Association's support of the Douglas-Javits-Celler bill as "the best of the civil rights bills" now before Congress. The Johnson bill, he asserted, "is unacceptable."

## URGES BAN ON JIM CROW SCHOOLS

THE Association has again urged Congress to ban federal funds for jim-crow schools. Testifying before the House subcommittee on general education in Washington on March 3, Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, called for inclusion of a clause in any federal aid to education bill restricting such assistance "to schools that are operating in conformity with the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States relating to school desegregation."

Between 1950 and 1957, he pointed out, federal funds in excess of \$224,000,000 were allocated to segregated schools in eight southern states. The NAACP spokesman cited two instances in which this policy is currently being carried out.

As recently as September, 1958, a school built at the cost of \$800,000 in federal funds for the children of civilian and military personnel at the Little Rock, Arkansas, Air Force Base, was opened on a segregated basis. The more than 100 Negro children eligible to attend this school are still barred from it, Mr. Mitchell told the committee members.

Also, last year the Redstone Arsenal in Alabama transferred 21 acres of land to the Huntsville, Alabama, school district as a site for the construction of an elementary school from which Negro children will be excluded.

"If the military authorities had kept the land and built a school on it, the present policies of the Department of Defense which require that all children who are eligible be admitted without regard to race, would insure that there would be no segregation," he asserted.

"Thus, those who are responsible for the land transfer have succeeded in overruling the Chief Executive and the Secretary of Defense," Mr. Mitchell charged.

## ANTI-NAACP RULING

THE NAACP, on March 5, asked the United States Supreme Court to review the action of the Supreme Court of Alabama in refusing to send to a lower state court the mandate of the federal court reversing the judgment of the Circuit Court of Montgomery County which found the NAACP in contempt and fined it \$100,000 for failure to disclose the names and addresses of Association members in Alabama.

The NAACP petition for a writ of certiorari in the case included an alternative petition for a writ of mandamus "directing and requiring" the Alabama Supreme Court to send down the mandate of the United States Supreme Court to the Circuit Court of Montgomery and "to order, direct and require that court to proceed to hold a hearing to determine on its merits the validity of the *ex parte* temporary restraining order and injunction," still in effect against the NAACP.

The petition, filed by NAACP attorneys Robert L. Carter and Arthur D. Shores, reviewed the history of the case and asked if the Alabama

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Supreme Court may "refuse to send down the mandate of this Court under the circumstances of this case," and if the NAACP may "be deprived of access to the courts of Alabama to test the validity of an *ex parte* order, in effect ordering it from the state as a punishment for contempt, thereby rendering the *ex parte* temporary restraining order a permanent injunction, without petitioner's having been granted the right to a hearing in accord with requirements of due process of law."

The NAACP has been banned in Alabama since June, 1956, when the Montgomery County court, on complaint of Attorney General John Patterson, now governor of the state, issued an order forbidding further activity by the NAACP in the state. A fine of \$100,000 was imposed. On June 30, 1958, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision reversing and remanding the Alabama court ruling which had been sustained by the state's Supreme Court. Last February 12, the Alabama Supreme Court refused to follow the mandate of the U.S. Supreme Court on the ground that the federal Court's decision "rests upon a mistaken premise."

### PENNSYLVANIA MASON'S LAUNCH DRIVE

**A**POINTMENT of John A. Hilton of Monongahela as chairman of the Pennsylvania Prince Hall Mason's NAACP life membership campaign has been announced in Philadelphia by James T. Earle, Jr., most worshipful grand master of the fraternal order.

The Pennsylvania Prince Hall Grand Lodge has set a financial goal of \$50,000.00 and a life membership quota in the NAACP of 115. Both are to be reached by late fall. This will allow the Pennsylvania fraternal body to participate in the Association's 50th anniversary year.

Many noted persons and institutions, as well as organizations, have indicated NAACP support by becoming \$500.00 life members. Some of these eminent persons include Richard Rodgers, W. Averell Harriman, former governor of New York; Lena Horne, Duke Ellington, Roy Wilkins, Thurgood Marshall, Count Basie, Tallulah Bankhead, Jackie Robinson and Walter Reuther.

Mr. Hilton comes from a line of Masons, his father and uncle having pioneered in the movement. He joined the Monongahela Prince Hall lodge in 1947 and has since served in many responsible positions. Mr. Hilton is a 32 degree Mason. Elected right worthy junior warden of his lodge in 1957, Mr. Hilton has found time for numerous other interests.

### MONROE BOYS IN NEW HOME

**D**AVID SIMPSON, 8, and Hanover Thompson, 10, have enrolled in a public school in Charlotte, North Carolina, and are now "on the way to a good life," reports Kelly Alexander, president of the North Carolina State Conference of NAACP Branches.

The two boys were released on February 13 from the Morrison Training School where they had been detained since November 4, 1958, following their arrest for being kissed by a little white girl playmate in Monroe, N.C. The NAACP undertook the legal defense of the boys. A petition for a writ of habeas corpus, filed by NAACP attorneys, was denied on January 12 by Superior Court Judge Walter E. Johnson. They were released and returned to their families before the case went up on appeal.

Meanwhile, the Association relocated the families of the two youngsters in homes in Charlotte. The NAACP is providing them with financial and other assistance pending an adjustment to their new environment.

The arrest and detention of the children aroused world-wide indignation. People and organizations in Holland, Italy, France, Germany and elsewhere flooded the office of Governor Luther Hodges with protests.

### NAACP SEEKS 500,000 MEMBERS

**A**CAMPAIGN to enroll a half-million members in the NAACP during the Association's fiftieth anniversary has been announced by Mr. Wilkins.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin of Pittsburgh, a member of the Association's board of directors, has been named national chairman of the campaign, the spring phase of which was launched on April 1 and will continue through June 30. There will also be a fall campaign, September 15 to December 15, in cities not participating in the earlier drive. State and local campaign chairmen are being designated.

Membership in 1958 amounted to 326,200. The 1959 drive seeks to increase that number by 175,000 including 100,000 youth members. Among goals accepted by state and local units of the NAACP are Philadelphia, 50,000; Virginia, 50,000; Illinois, 40,000; Missouri, 25,000; and Kansas, 6,000.

### NAACP MEMBERS FIRED

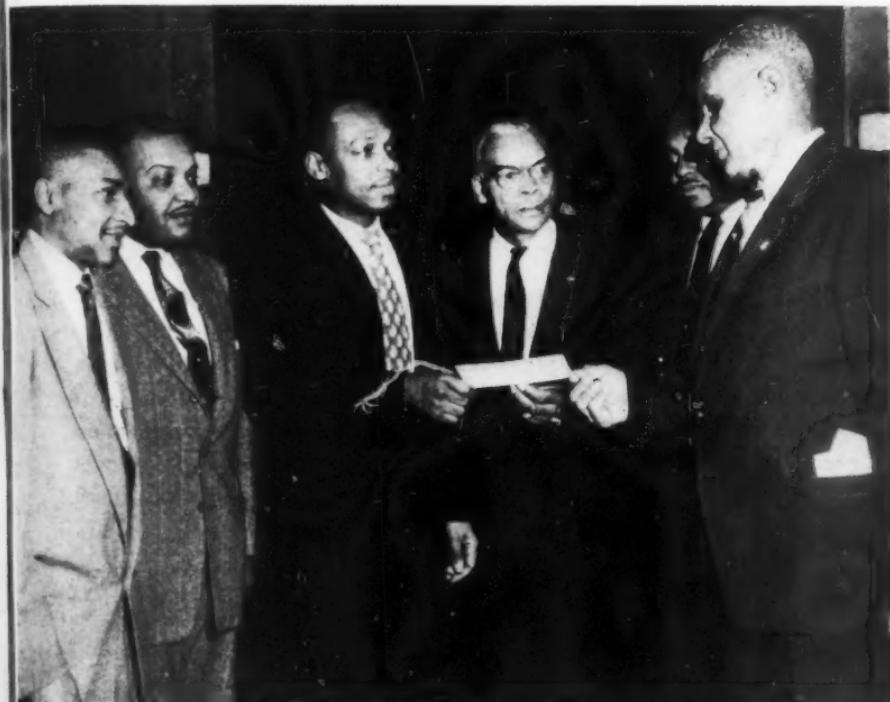
**E**CONOMIC reprisals were invoked against NAACP members and parents of children enrolled in the recently re-opened Warren County high school at Front Royal, Virginia, Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, has revealed after an on-the-spot investigation.

In December, Mr. Hill reports, six NAACP members employed at the local plant of the American Viscose Corporation were dismissed and Local 371 of the Textile Workers of America, AFL-CIO, of which they are also members, has refused to take up their grievances.

Moreover, the NAACP labor secretary discovered, the president of the Association's branch in Warren County, Charles Deane, has been threatened with dismissal despite his 20 years of seniority. Mr. Deane was a plaintiff in the case and is the father of three of the 23 children enrolled in the county's public high school. Also threatened with dismissal is another

plaintiff, James Wilson Kilby, with 14 years of seniority, and father of three of the school children.

Mr. Hill learned also that at a recent meeting of Local 371, Charles E. Leadman, business agent, announced that the union would no longer handle grievances of Negro workers. Mr. Leadman is one of the leaders of the resistance movement in Front Royal.



JOHN BARNES, JR., (3rd from R) realizes his goal of becoming a life member of the NAACP as he presents his \$500 check to M. T. Blanton (extreme R), chairman of the life membership committee of the Chicago, Illinois, branch. Mr. Barnes is treasurer of the Wisdom Masonic Lodge No. 102, Chicago. Others in the picture (from L) are Peter Smith, Jr., Granville White, Jr., John Galbreath, Worshipful Master, and William Knox.

# WE FIGHT YOUR GI ON YE

## Join NAACP as a Life Member

On every legal front, on every social front, on every economic front . . . wherever injustice and discrimination raise their heads, the full force of the NAACP is thrown into the fight. It is the most powerful, the only effective organization Negroes have today which can cope with the forces of injustice that stand in the way of their freedom. Today, this organization needs the strongest possible financial support to overcome the road blocks thrown up by the hardened opposition. Examine your conscience. Enroll as a Life Member in NAACP—today!

### LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN

JACKIE ROBINSON

DR. BENJAMIN E. MAYS

#### CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander  
George A. Beavers, Jr.  
Bishop W. Y. Bell  
Dr. George D. Cannon  
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Nathaniel Colley  
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Dr. Mordecai Johnson  
Dr. Robert H. Johnson  
Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin  
Dr. J. Leonidas Leach  
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Walter Reuther  
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Send to  
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or the

**N.A.A.C.P.**  
20 W. 40th Street  
New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

I enclose check for \$ .....  
as first payment toward a Life Membership.

I enclose a check for \$500 for full Life Membership.

Name.....

Street.....

City and State.....

Annual installments of as little as \$50.00 or  
more, sent to either your local branch of the  
NAACP or to the New York headquarters, can  
make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

# Editorials

## INTEGRATION DOES ADVANCE

**A**FTER five years public school integration does inch ahead, despite the attempts at "massive resistance," especially in Virginia, which failed, and the continued resistance of the Deep South. Progress, we admit, has not set the pace that Negroes and the NAACP would like; yet the inevitability of desegregation is obvious, and even admitted by some of the more intelligent Southern intransigents. While we do not claim that the desegregation problem is solved, we do wish, however, to call our readers attention to a few of the highlights in the desegregation picture. These we think argue well for the future. Since too much public attention is given to the headline-making incidents, which very often distort the real picture.

With the collapse of "massive-resistance" in both state and federal courts, seven Virginia public schools had to admit Negroes on an integrated basis. This does not mean, however, that Virginia has given up its fight to thwart integration wherever possible. One scheme is a program by Governor J. Lindsay Almond whereby no white child can be forced to attend a racially-mixed school if his parents object. This is to be done through tuition grants to be paid children whose parents request it. As a result of the collapse of the Virginia laws Arkansas, Alabama, and Georgia have begun to scrutinize their laws dealing with this issue.

Baltimore, Maryland, for instance, one of the earliest cities to integrate after the Supreme Court ruling reports that desegregation has already passed the half-way point in that city. The number of mixed elementary schools has risen in Baltimore from 59 to 66, and the number of secondary schools from 22 to 24. This means that over half of all schools in Baltimore are mixed, 90 mixed in contrast to 34 that are all-white and 52 that are all-Negro in the fifth year of the city's policy. The highest proportion of mixed schools is on the secondary level.

In Florida the Dade County school board voted last fall to admit four Negro pupils to the previously all-white Orchard Villa Elementary School in Miami. The University of Florida has, as reported previously, accepted two Negro graduate students without friction, Mrs. Daphne Duval in education; George Starke, Jr., in the law school. Oklahoma moved in the direction of faculty integration when the Oklahoma City schools adopted a new plan to decentralize its counselor staff. It is estimated that not more than 20 teachers of Oklahoma's 1,270 Negro teachers are serving on mixed faculties. It is further believed that in those Oklahoma districts reporting integrated faculties, that Negro teachers are assigned primarily to Negro classes.

**A** RECENT survey in Texas shows that forty of that state's colleges now practice integration, and that thirteen others have abolished segregation policies. Thirteen report a willingness to accept Negroes, but they

have received no applicants. Integrated faculties are popular with the Negro colleges, but not with the white.

It should be remembered that we are not offering these instances as examples of the approaching racial millenium, but as proof that some progress is being made and that we have a long way to go before the goal of integrated public education becomes clearly visible. There is no doubt that this goal is achievable; but, unfortunately, it is equally certain that much remains to be done before we can be truly free in sixty-three.

### POSITIVE ACTION

**E**XECUTIVE Secretary Roy Wilkins made a statesmanlike suggestion when he called upon Congress to enact legislation authorizing "the federal government on its own initiative to bring suits in cases involving denial of civil rights."

In a statement which Mr. Wilkins submitted to the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee on March 12, he noted that such a provision, stricken from the Civil Rights Act of 1957 under threat of a Senate filibuster, is included in the bill introduced in the 86th Congress by Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) "which has been endorsed by our Association, along with the companion bi-partisan Douglas bill, S. 456, introduced by Senator Jacob Javits and co-sponsored by Senators Kenneth Keating, Clifford Case (N. J.), Sherman Cooper, Hugh Scott, and Gordon Allott."

The Celler bill "recognizes the necessity of supporting affirmatively the 1954 ruling of the Supreme Court and, in its Title VI, it authorizes the Department of Justice, on its own initiative, to seek preventive relief to protect the constitutional rights of citizens in all civil right situations, not merely in voting cases." Without such legislation, this places the burden of securing one's constitutional rights squarely upon the shoulders of private individuals and organizations. This burden to date has been borne chiefly by the NAACP.

**W**HILE the NAACP will not shirk its duty in seeking redress for those who are denied their civil rights," continued Mr. Wilkins, "we believe the federal government has a responsibility to assure that constitutional rights are upheld. In this struggle for equal rights and constitutional liberties, the federal government can ill-afford to be neutral. There is no ground for neutrality as between those who would obey the law and those who defy it."

"It is not fair, not decent, not American, that parents who seek unsegregated education for their children in accordance with law, should find arrayed against them the massed powers of the states, including the treasuries composed in part of their own tax money.

"In such a situation, it is absurd to maintain that the government of all the people of the United States should remain an inactive observer while courts are defied, human rights trampled, and the protagonists of simple justice under law are mangled in a grossly one-sided struggle."

# What the Branches Are Doing

*California:* The regional office has announced February 1-May 17 as dates for the region-wide Golden Anniversary Membership Campaign, which will be coordinated by Mrs. Tarea Pittman.

*Illinois:* A delegation from the SPRINGFIELD branch laid a wreath on the tomb of Abraham Lincoln on his birthday, February 12. The wreath-laying group consisted of Glenn A. Kniss, vice-president; Dr. D. E. Webster, past president; Eulalia O. Corbin, secretary; Bettie J. Allen, president; Reverend Mr. Joseph Johnson, board member; Mrs. Agnes Houston, board member; Mary Kreider, former secretary; and Mrs. Docia Steele Ashurst, board member.

*Indiana:* More than 300 persons attended the Friendship Party sponsored on January 28 at Carver Center by the KOKOMO branch. Students of the Martha Miller Dance School danced tap and ballet numbers; they were followed by audience dancing to the music of The Melody Masters. Mrs. Fay Bichel was chairman and Mrs. Dorothy Fisher co-chairman of the affair.

The branch celebrated Negro history week with a panel discussion on February 9 in the Church of God in Christ. The panel consisted of Judge Merton Stanley, moderator; Rev. Mr. H. H. Thurman, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Semmes, Mrs. Ruth Hall, Judge B. R. Davidson, Attorney J. Grimes, Dale Kern, Mrs. Akerman, and Dr. T. Grant.

*Kentucky:* Governor Albert B. Chandler of Kentucky officially proclaimed February 12 as the day for a statewide observance of the fiftieth anniversary of the NAACP. This is believed to be the first such act on the part of a southern governor.

Twenty-six persons assembled in the governor's office from the LOUISVILLE and the FRANKFORT branches of the NAACP to witness the signing of the proclamation. Among these were Attorney James A. Crumlin, president of the Kentucky state conference of NAACP branches; Rev. Mr. W. J. Hodge, president of the Louisville branch; Mrs. Helen Holmes, president of the Frankfort branch; Dr. B. T. Holmes, Mrs. Jennie Mae Buckner, Howard Green, Mr. and Mrs. J. Todd Simpson, Mrs.

Florence Williams, Earl Tracy, Archie Suratt, George Simmons, James Scott, Laura Chase, James Berry and Mrs. Margie Hall, all from Frankfort; Mrs. Tommie Smith, Mrs. Christine Lightsy, Rev. Mr. William Bell and Rev. Mr. G. K. Offutt.

*Massachusetts:* The Reverend Mr. Walter C. Davis of the Charles Street Church in ROXBURY has undertaken the responsibility of contacting and signing up all the Negro churches in Greater Boston which do not have life memberships in the NAACP. Reverend Mr. Davis is himself a life member of the NAACP.

*Nebraska:* The mayor of Omaha, Hon. John Rosenblatt, issued a proclamation on February 5 establishing February 12 as the Golden Jubilee Day commemorating the fiftieth year after the founding of the NAACP.



DR. JAMES LEVY, president of the Cleveland, Ohio, branch secures an NAACP life membership payment from his fraternity through Pole March G. A. Spann of the Cleveland Alumni Kappa Alpha Psi.

**Nevada:** Bew H. Fong, owner of Reno's New China Club, kicked off on February 5 the 1959 membership drive of the RENO branch by becoming the first paid-up member of the NAACP in the State of Nevada.

The branch is assisting the U. S. Civil Rights Commission in its work.

**New Jersey:** A voluntary drive for funds among members of Local 284, AFL-CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union, in February, raised almost \$1,700 for the Association.

The money, in contributions ranging from dimes to dollars, was turned over to Roy Wilkins by Winfield S. Chasmar, president of Local 284. Mr. Chasmas is also president of the AFL-CIO L&DCIU.

**WINFIELD S. CHASMAR** (seated R), president of Local #284, AFL-CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union, presents almost \$1,700 in voluntary contributions from memberships to Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary. The money is piled in front of them. Standing, from L, are Abraham Solomon, secretary-treasurer of the Local; Odessa Williams, shop representative; Frances Taylor, George Lewis, and John Long.



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APRIL 1



Cecil Layne

**PAID IN FULL NAACP LIFE MEMBERS**—Officers of the Jack and Jill of America, Inc., Brooklyn, New York, chapter. They received their NAACP life membership plaque in January. They are (from L) Mrs. Elizabeth Jordan, recording secretary; Mrs. Roselyn Leach, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Evelyn Jackson, vice-president; Mrs. Lurline Purvis, president; Mrs. Ruth Wilson, financial secretary; and Mrs. Lorraine Waldron, historian.

Mr. Wilkins expressed keen satisfaction over the generosity of the New Jersey Local. He said: "This is the first time the membership of a local union has undertaken this kind of collection and we are indeed grateful to the good folks of Local 284."

*New England Regional Conference:* Emerson Read, president of the PORTSMOUTH, New Hampshire, branch reports that twenty out of thirty hotels and motels within a six-mile radius of Portsmouth discriminate against Negroes. A survey by the Portsmouth branch also reveals that landlords of private housing are reluctant to rent to Negro airmen stationed at the Pease Air Base.



*Mayor John B. Hynes of Boston, Massachusetts, signs an official declaration calling upon all local citizens to observe February 12 as NAACP "Golden Anniversary Day."*



*Governor Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts affixes his signature to an official proclamation setting forth the observance of February 12 as "NAACP Golden Anniversary Day."*



*Governor Gaylord A. Nelson of Wisconsin issues a 50th anniversary proclamation on February 12 asking that state citizens observe this day as the 50th anniversary of the NAACP.*

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APRIL, 1



Cecil Layne

LILLIAN ZERWICK, administrator, Melrose Welfare Center, New York City Department of Welfare, receives her NAACP life membership certificate from Margurite Belafonte (R), NAACP 1959 freedom fund co-chairman. The \$500 life membership was purchased by the staff of the Melrose Welfare Center, with Albert Jonas serving as chairman of this project.

The twenty-first annual New England Regional Conference will be held at Bridgeport, Connecticut, April 24-26.

New York: The Negro History-Brotherhood Week Committee of the JAMAICA branch sponsored a very successful celebration in the Brooks Memorial Methodist Church on February 14. Featured on the program were Dr. William J. L. Wallace, president of West Virginia State College, guest speaker; Gloster B. Current, director of NAACP branches; and students participating in a prize essay contest.

The labor and industry committee of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch is carrying out a series of job surveys, seeking new jobs, and offering youth guidance into skilled occupations. Joseph Guinn is chairman of the committee.



*Theodore Jones and Mrs. Beatrice Steele (L) are receiving a check for \$1,000 from the Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority as the NAACP's share of their Akarama held in 1958.*



*The Vallejo, California, branch Credit Union starts 1959 with its first share deposit at its annual meeting in January. The Vallejo NAACP Credit Union is the second to be organized in California.*



*Members of the Friends Club of New York City are shown at the home of Mrs. Ethel Bridgeford receiving their NAACP life membership plaque.*

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APRIL, 19



Edward M. Jones

THE SOCIALITIES CLUB of Lansing, Michigan, is the first in that city to become an NAACP life subscriber. Socialities president Mrs. Albert Eaton hands an initial payment check of \$100 to Attorney Stuart J. Dunnings, Jr., of the local branch. Others in the picture, from L, are Mrs. LaDon Barber, Mrs. Matt Wood, Mrs. Maxine Allen, Mrs. Mattie Foxall, Mrs. Clinton Canady, Jr., Mrs. John Davis, and Mrs. Stuart Dunnings, Jr.

Mr. and Mrs. Phillip S. Gelb of RIVERDALE mailed out hundreds of copies of a statement, along with an NAACP membership blank, pointing out the biased and fallacious nature of Chet Huntley's suggestion that the NAACP get out of the integration picture.

The NEW YORK CITY branch is pushing an eleven-point rent control program under the supervision of its president L. Joseph Overton.

Ohio: Governor Michael V. DiSalle of the State of Ohio proclaimed "the twelfth day of February, 1959, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Golden Anniversary Day" and urged the "citizens of Ohio to observe the 50th anniversary of the founding of the National Association of Colored People through support of the ideals of the Association and participation in activities celebrating the event throughout the year 1959."



*The Right Rev. Stephen Gill Spottswood, member of the NAACP national board, presents an NAACP life membership plaque to Ethel Payne, Washington, D.C.*



*Francis Turner (R), president of the Reveille Club of New York City, receives the Club's NAACP life membership plaque from NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins.*



*Dr. William Watts, chairman of the life membership committee of the Baltimore, Maryland, branch accepts payment on a life membership from Mrs. Green.*

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APRIL 1



Cecil Layne

THE GEORGIA STATE COLLEGE CLUB of New York City presents its NAACP life membership to the New York City branch of the Association—Henry Brinson, vice-president; Mrs. Mary Lanier, recording secretary; John Patterson, president; L. Joseph Overton, president New York branch; and Edward Scott, club treasurer.

**Pennsylvania:** William Wooten of the NEW CASTLE branch has been awarded a bronze plaque for selling one hundred NAACP memberships during the branch's last year membership drive. Mr. Wooten received the highest award among the nineteen persons who were honored for their part in the drive. He also received a gold certificate along with ones awarded Dr. George W. Garnett, John Brown, and Dr. James A. Gillespie.

Blue certificates were presented to Mrs. Eunesta Farrow, Thomas Farrow, George Wilson, Reverend Mr. Rosamond C. Kay, Jr., Mrs. Viola Watkins, Fred Clark, Berl Hall, Mrs. Martha Payne, Mrs. Margaret Campbell, R. T. Mitchell, Mrs. Juanita Lee, Frank Bailey, Mrs. Carrie Cobbs, and Mildred Engs.

The branch membership goal was 500 members, of which it now has 488.

Jackie Robinson, former Brooklyn Dodgers star, was keynote speaker in the third of a series of area mass rallies being held by the PHILADELPHIA branch in preparation for its 50,000-member campaign. The drive opened April 5 and will close May 17.

*Rhode Island:* Mayor Henry C. Wilkinson of NEWPORT signed a proclamation designating February 12 as the Golden Anniversary Day of the NAACP. Present at the signing were Oliver C. Burton, branch president; Mrs. Lewis Suggs, secretary; the Reverend Mr. Alvin Simmons, chairman of the executive board; the Reverend Mr. John C. Agnew, state representative; Mrs. Ethel Ames, Mrs. James H. Burney, Isabelle Taylor, Erich A. O'D. Taylor, Mrs. Aria Carson, and Royal Lee White.

Herbert Robertson of the Newport branch was presented a gold button at City Hall in February honoring him as one of the two surviving incorporators of the local branch. Cromwell P. West, the other survivor, is hospitalized.

*Texas:* The women's auxiliary of the DALLAS branch celebrated the Golden Anniversary of the NAACP (1909-1959) with a tea at the Moorland branch of the YMCA on February 15, from three to seven P.M.

*Wisconsin:* Dr. George A. Parkinson, director of the Milwaukee Vocaional and Adult Schools, discussed "Some Problems of the Negro Worker During the Next Decade" at the regular monthly meeting of the MILWAUKEE branch held on February 8.

William Jenkins, president of the RACINE branch, writes: "As president of the branch I have instituted a program that is now bearing fruit. We are now getting the recognition as an integral part of the community, instead of being just a name."

The entire membership of the Lakeside Malleable Unit of UAW Local 234 have affiliated themselves with the Racine branch. Branch president Mr. Jenkins said that to his knowledge this is the first time that there has been such a mass affiliation with the Association.

*Connecticut:* Edward Jackson, president of the MIDDLETOWN-PORTLAND branch and chairman of the executive board of the New England Regional Conference, invited the presidents and heads of legislative and housing committees of all Connecticut branches to plan united action for their appearance before the state legislative and judiciary committees on the public accommodations act sponsored and endorsed by the NAACP and the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission. Spokesmen for the groups appeared before the proper committees and urged passage of legislation which would permit the Civil Rights Commission to initiate complaints of discrimination and to bring private builders under the law if they handle more than five rentals or for sale units.



# College and School News

Dr. Thomas P. Fraser, head of the department of science education at Morgan State College, received the "14th Science Education Recognition Award" and the citation for "Distinguished Service in Science Education." The citation was presented at the 32nd annual meeting of the NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH IN SCIENCE TEACHING held in Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 18-21.

The 14th science education recognition award was made by Science Education, official journal of NARST.

The Coe Foundation will continue the refresher course in the social sciences begun at TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE last summer by its second grant to the institute in the amount of \$7,500.

The Carver Foundation reports a research grant in the amount of

\$2,500 to Karl H. Bloss, research associate, from the Research Corporation of New York City.

A challenging summer program for young adults of leadership promise between the ages of 18 and 23 is offered by the 14th annual ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP — a six-week summer "workshop in democracy" held on both the East and West Coasts. The workshops will be held simultaneously in New York City and San Francisco, California, June 28-August 8.

The Encampment program, conducted by a resident faculty of social scientists drawn from universities and community agencies, is a unique combination of seminar, summer camp and adventure in human relations. It provides clarification of the major issues facing the nation today, together with training in prac-

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**DIRECTOR of ADMISSIONS and PLACEMENT**

tical techniques for democratic action—plus a living experience in an extraordinarily diverse group.

G. Johnson Hubert, professor of music at MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, has been awarded a graduate fellowship by the Danforth Foundation for a full year of graduate study. Professor Hubert will work towards his doctorate degree in music at Columbia University.

Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, lecturer, journalist and a member of the HUNTER COLLEGE (New York City) faculty, has been appointed by the Nigerian government to the five-member Provisional Council of the new University of Nigeria.

Two seniors from HOWARD UNIVERSITY are among ten engineering students in Washington area schools who have been selected to receive awards from the Washington section of the Institute of Radio Engineers. The presentation was made to Sherman P. Tynes and James W. Breedlove on February 14 at the Institute's annual banquet in Washington.

Howard also announces the election of eleven honors students in the university school of engineering and architecture to the Tau Beta Pi Association, the national honor society in engineering. The group includes one alumnus, two juniors, and eight seniors.

Four junior and thirty senior undergraduate students at the university will be cited in the 1958-59 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities*.

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The Coleridge-Taylor Choral Society of BISHOP COLLEGE returned in February from a highly successful good will concert tour through Texas, New Mexico, California, Utah, Colorado, and Oklahoma. The tour began on January 18 and ended February 6; the Society is under the direction of J. Harrison Wilson.

■

The registrar's office at GAMMON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY reports the largest second-term class to register at the seminary in recent years. The present student body represents twenty-one states, nine denominations, and forty different colleges.

Gammon recently received an historical collection of great value from Bishop J. W. E. Bowen of the Atlantic Coast Area of the central jurisdiction of the Methodist Church. The collection includes items from Bishop Bowen and his father, Dr. J. W. E. Bowen, Sr.

The \$250,000 gift to MOREHOUSE COLLEGE made by the Danford Foundation, which was announced in the press some time ago, will be used to endow a chair in psychology to be named the "Benjamin E. Mays Chair in Psychology."

Four Morehouse teachers and six students have received Charles E. Merrill, Jr., European travel grants. They are, among the faculty, Mr. and Mrs. Wendell P. Whalum, Mrs. Eloise McKinney Johnson, and Dr. Julia Y. Lee.

A book entitled *Negroes in Medicine*, by Dietrich C. Reitzes, recently published by the Harvard University Press, reveals some interesting facts about graduates of Morehouse College enrolled in medical schools during the academic year 1955-56. Among other facts, it reveals the following:

That there were more graduates from Morehouse College enrolled in medicine at Meharry Medical College in 1955-56 than from any other one college in the U.S.A.

That Morehouse graduates were third in number in the Medical School of Howard University that same year (those of Howard being first and those of Lincoln University being second). It is further revealed that among the predominantly white medical schools of the North there were more Morehouse graduates enrolled than there were graduates from any other Negro college.

■  
HAMPTON INSTITUTE will feature five special programs in its summer-school curriculum, June 15-August 7.

Mrs. Georgia Caldwell Smith, associate professor of mathematics at SPELMAN COLLEGE, has been designated as a National Science Foundation Faculty Fellow for 1959-60.

The TOUGALOO SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN COLLEGE library has received a sub-grant of \$200 from the Association of Colleges and Research Libraries Committee on Foundation Grants to be used to strengthen its collection of science materials.

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE has received a grant of \$3,500 from the Medical Education for National Defense Committee (MEND) to be used for the orientation period accorded new schools entering the program.

The Reverend Dr. James H. Robinson, pastor of the Church of the Master, New York City, was principal speaker at the 77th observance of founders' day at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE.

VSC alumni chapters throughout the nation observed Virginia State College Day on February 22 with appropriate programs.

VSC has announced the staff for its summer institute for high school teachers of general science to be held at the college June 22-August 14. There will be five visiting professors, assisted by seven college staff members.

VSC was given, on February 12, a Department of Defense Reserve Award presented by Major General

## Cheyney

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H. J. Vanderheide, 21st Corps Commander, on behalf of Neil McElroy, secretary of defense. The college received the award for outstanding cooperation with the reserve program of the armed services, and is the only institution of higher learning in the 21st Corps Area to receive the award.

Thurgood Marshall and Marian Anderson are among the fourteen new electors appointed to the forty-seven-member COLLEGE OF ELECTORS of the Hall of Fame for Great Americans. Electors to the Hall of Fame are appointed for life. The new appointees replace members of the college who have died or resigned since the 1955 election.

Thurgood Marshall is director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Marian Anderson is the world-famous contralto of Danbury, Connecticut.

Reverend Arthur S. Grootboom, a minister of the Pentecostal Holiness Church and a member of the Befonkeng tribe, is now studying journalism at BOSTON UNIVERSITY's school of public relations and communications.

Bruce Barton, chairman of the board of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, has accepted the chairmanship of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND's sixteenth annual spring appeal. More than \$1,843,000 was contributed to UNCF during its 1958 nationwide appeal.

Dr. Samuel P. Massie, chairman of FISK UNIVERSITY's chemistry department, was one of a panel of scientists making recommendations to the National Science Foundation in their selection of colleges which will provide program for gifted high school students next summer.

Dr. Donald F. Squires, assistant curator of fossil invertebrates at THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, has been awarded a Fulbright grant for research on the fossil corals of New Zealand. He left for that country on February 4.

The 105th birthday anniversary of the late Dr. Joseph Charles Price, founder and first president of LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE, was observed on February 10 when the college paid its annual tribute in its sixty-fourth celebration.

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#### 18 NATIONAL HONOR SOCIETIES

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A total of \$83,205.71 was reported to the college in its observance of the 105th anniversary, most of which came as result of the efforts of the AME Zion Church, the college faculty and staff, and the student body.

Elnora Smith, associate professor of English, has been appointed as a Danforth teacher for 1959 by the advisory council of the Danforth Foundation.

Annual founders' day exercises were held at VIRGINIA UNION UNI-

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VERSITY in commemoration of the ninety-fourth year of the Seminary and the sixtieth year of the University on February 13. Attorney Eugene Kinckle Jones, Jr., of Flushing, New York, an alumnus of the class of '33, gave the formal address at the convocation. The Honorable Homer S. Brown, judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Allegheny county, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, served as chairman of the founders' day drive for 1959.

Annual week of prayer was observed at VUU February 22-27, being led by the Reverend Charles M. Jones of the University of North Carolina's Community Church at Chapel Hill, and the Reverend Kelly Miller Smith, minister of the First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee.

Author Harry Golden (*Only in America*), editor of the *Carolina Israelite*, was banquet speaker at the thirteenth annual United Negro College Fund Alumni Conference held at BENNETT COLLEGE February 7-8.

Dr. Samuel L. Gandy, dean of chapel and professor of religion, Dillard University, was leader of ATLANTA UNIVERSITY CENTER's religious emphasis week March 1-4.

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, formerly

state rent administrator for New York, and Harold Fleming, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, were recent speakers at AU. Dr. Weaver spoke on open occupancy as the most effective means of preventing urban renewal's giving rise to new slums. Mr. Fleming spoke on scholarship and the segregation crisis.

Selected writings of literary groups known in America as the Beat Generation and in England as the Angry Young Men were discussed at AU's book program on February 17. Dr. Thomas D. Jarrett, professor of English, reviewed an anthology of works and criticism of these movements.

SHAW UNIVERSITY has been formally accepted into full membership of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

Dr. Robert B. Johnson of Richmond, Virginia, has been appointed to the university staff for the second semester as a teacher in the humanities and history.

Religious emphasis week was observed at Shaw March 1-5, with guest speakers Dr. Thelma P. Bando, dean of women at Morgan College, and Dr. Vernon Johns, dean of Maryland Baptist Center, Baltimore, carrying out various phases of the program.

## SECOND ANNUAL OBSERVANCE OF PETITION CAMPAIGN AND YOUTH MARCH FOR INTEGRATED SCHOOLS

April 18, 1959

Washington, D. C.

# Datelines and By-Lines

## February 27–March 5, 1959

### DESEGREGATION AND THE SOUTH

*Alabama:* Birmingham's Superintendent of Schools has rejected the last of nine Negro applicants desiring entry to white schools.

A *Christian Science Monitor* article predicts that Alabama's pupil placement act will never be used as a 'token' integration weapon. Rather, in time, the Supreme Court will face state action aimed at preventing all integration.

*Arkansas:* Governor Faubus, March 4, signed into law legislation permitting the transfer of school funds to segregated schools where pupils refuse to attend integrated ones.

A measure introduced in the legislature February 26 would have permitted Faubus to appoint three additional members to Little Rock's deadlocked school board. Although approved by the House March 2, it was tabled in the Senate.

Three members of Little Rock's school board have called for an immediate start on a plan for "controlled integration" in city schools.

The majority of Little Rock's Chamber of Commerce favors reopening schools on a "controlled minimum" integration basis. Governor Faubus, commenting, believes their attitude contrary to that of the city's population.

*Delaware:* Demonstrations continued throughout the entire week-end to harass the George Rayfield family of Collins Park near Wilmington. The Rayfields recently acquired a home in an all-white neighborhood.

*Florida:* Pauli Murray, NYC attorney (letter to *N.Y. Times*) declares Governor Collins' proposal re establishment of commissions to review and direct desegregation compliance is based on sound principle, provided stringent safeguards are enacted by Congress.

*Louisiana:* Three Negroes were mobbed and beaten by ten whites outside an integrated New Orleans Catholic church, March 1. The beatings were attributed to a *Jet* news article on integration in Catholic church in Louisiana.

*Tennessee:* Tennessee's House of Representatives, March 2, approved a bill to prevent compulsory attendance at integrated schools.

The U.S. Circuit Court, 6th Circuit, February 27 upheld the contempt conviction of John Kasper and six others in connection with school



Sirlin Studio

**PAID-UP LIFE MEMBERS** of the NAACP in Sacramento, California—Seated, from L, Jewell Storms, Mrs. Kenneth Johnson, Mrs. Novelyn Sims, Ralph Amerson, Jr., Mrs. Mattie Moore, Mrs. Frank Canson, Mrs. Nathaniel Colley; standing, from L, Palmer Pinckney, Dr. Kenneth Johnson, Attorney Nathaniel Colley, Sam Strong, and Attorney Douglas Greer. Not pictured are Mrs. Louise Anderson, Dr. James Garner, J. R. Smith, and Clifford Frazier.

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desegregation violence at Clinton, Tennessee on September 6, 1956.

**Virginia:** The State Board of Education has approved first tuition grants. A legislative commission is working on plans to limit integration. Private school groups are forming rapidly. The Virginia Committee for Public Schools is organizing to preserve that system.

Warren County's board of supervisors has been presented a petition signed by 3000 urging curtailment of funds to all integrated county schools.

Two Charlottesville school student officers are visiting Atlantic City to observe integration; have found Negro students friendly, but are reserving comment on integration impressions.



# Book Reviews

## MORE ON "WILLIE MAE"

*In the interest of a more rounded view of Mrs. Kytle's book than was provided in our January issue, we publish herewith excerpts from reviews in several other periodicals. These have been chosen more or less at random from a large collection of generally laudatory commentaries.*

ROANOKE, VA., TIMES: "It is possible, of course, to miss the point. The casual reader may find in the ignorance, poverty, and family disorganization of Willie Mae's surroundings evidence to support traditional stereotypes. But the perceptive reader who makes the effort will recognize in this unvarnished report Willie Mae's strain for respectability against the greatest of odds and her growing sensitivity to indignities which are the common lot of those who live below the color line. . . . This unpretentious book . . . makes a somewhat unique, even if modest, contribution to our understanding of the changes which in recent decades have been taking place in the area of race relationship."

\* \* \*

CHICAGO SUN TIMES: "This book, written with sympathy, understanding and feeling by a Southern white woman about a Southern Negro woman, implies more than it states about the racial troubles that beset much of the nation today . . . a fine, sensitive book about a woman who both as a person and as a symbol demands our sympathy and our attention."

\* \* \*

NEW YORK TIMES BOOK REVIEW: "The facts of Willie Mae's life are comic and tragic, and they ring true to the ear. While not attempting to solve Willie Mae's problems, Mrs. Kytle has done a beautiful job of transferring her to the printed page."

\* \* \*

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE BOOK REVIEW: "This book will give arguments to both factions in the South. With sympathy and respect the author has assembled a casebook of the Negro's grievances. But she has drawn an unsentimental picture; the bigot will find sufficient evidence of the Negro's ignorance, chicanery, and inhumanity to his own people. . . . But make the almost impossible effort of judging 'Willie Mae' without contemporary bias, and there remains a little classic of triumphant humanity."

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION (in review by Editor Ralph McGill): "This is a book which should be must reading by those persons who insist they understand the Negro. And certainly it would be a fine book for those who say they don't. Both will be the better informed."

\* \* \*

SATURDAY REVIEW (Ralph Ellison, reviewer): "Elizabeth Kytle's 'Willie Mae' reminds us that during the Montgomery boycott many stories reached us of the acts of sacrifice and heroism on the part of elderly Negro women. . . . Willie Mae . . . might well have been one of these Montgomery ladies. . . . If you wonder about the chemistry of the American ideal as it works its most difficult transformation, Miss Kytle's work offers a bit of the answer."

\* \* \*

THE NEW REPUBLIC (reviewer, Wilma Dykeman): "Willie Mae's life dramatizes much of the sociology of her region, from the 'mob crowd' that murdered her brother, Lee, when he was twenty-one to the desperate little white wife who killed her husband with a hatchet while wearing the 'pretty shepherd's plaid coat' she had borrowed from Willie Mae. . . . But the sociology, the economies, the politics, are all implicit in Willie Mae's story. She accepts birth and death and is intimately acquainted with both. She knows hunger ('if you eat laundry starch, you don't be hungry for anything else much'), and humor, large losses and small gains—and from it all gathers unto herself a tough, resilient sort of wisdom. Mrs. Kytle has artfully transcribed the simple moving record of a life not unlike the lives of many Willie Maes."

\* \* \*

OHIO SENTINEL: "'Willie Mae' is a wonderful book. . . . Because this is an honest book in the sense that both Negroes and whites are not all good, or all clean, or all nice or even decent, there are sure to be both Negroes and whites who object to it. The white supremacist will be offended at some of the white people who are just nasty people, and the 'sensitive' Negro who only wants to read about perfect Negroes will also be offended. But surely the day will come when we can look on an individual, face to face or in the pages of a book, and see his imperfections and his virtues without any racial bias or narcissism. Perhaps this book will speed that day. At any rate, this is a book not to miss. Alfred Knopf, the publisher, has said that it will become a minor classic. To this may I add an Amen."

### THE NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE

1909-1959

50th Annual NAACP Convention  
New York City — July 13-19

April 1959

To the Editor *The Crisis*

Sir:

Thank you for your apology for the personal attack made on me in *The Crisis* for January.

This does, however, ignore the other half of the two-pronged attack—the other being on the book *Willie Mae*. Therefore, it in no way compensates for the false presentation of the book. I appreciate your offer to publish in *The Crisis* a letter in which I could set forth "the real message and purpose" of my book, but this wouldn't fit the occasion. My grievance is not that the message of the book was "completely misunderstood" by the reviewer, but that he didn't read the book and that he offered an untrue picture of it.

*Willie Mae* simply does not contain any of a whole list of things he strings out as being in the book. Beginning with the use of quotation marks around offensive expressions (which I never used) and with the false statement that the book is written in dialect (whereas it's written in the colloquial speech common to whites and Negroes in rural Georgia), and going on down his list—the presentation of the book is dishonest throughout, both as to factual content and interpretation. So, while your motive for apology for personal remarks may be a fine one, its effect is only to change the nature of the insult to me and leaves intact the insult to the book. (An apology for half of the double attack would be to say that it turns out I'm not a white supremacist, but that I'm so clumsy that I wrote a book that sounds like a white supremacist wrote it.) I must insist that you publish a second review—by someone who hasn't looked at the book from his blind side—or selected excerpts from numerous reviews which have been furnished you.

Columbus, Ohio      Elizabeth Kytle

**O Quilombo Dos Palmares** ["The Fugitive-Slave Settlement of Palmares"]. Por Edi-son Carneiro. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1958. 2.a Edição (Revista). 268 pp. Cr. \$150,00.

Of the many fugitive-slave settlements which existed at various times in Brazil — Carlota, Manuel Congo, Malunguinho, *et al.* — the one most written about, and perhaps best known outside Brazil, is that of *Palmares* (a word which means a terrain covered with palm trees). Incidentally, *quilombo*, fugitive-slave settlement, is African, and the inhabitants of a *quilombo* are *quilombólas*.

"The peculiarity of *Palmares*," says Senhor Carneiro, "is that it is the only one of the fugitive-slave settlements which resisted, for almost a century, the many attempts on the part of the whites to destroy it." Historians usually date *Palmares* from circa 1630, but thousands of runaway slaves had for decades been taking refuge in the rich but impenetrable *sertões* of northeastern Brazil. *Palmares*, which flourished for nearly a century, was situated in the interior between Alagoas and Pernambuco. It was not a "republic," as is oft asserted, but, as the author makes clear, "a piece of Africa transplanted to the Brazilian Northeast." The leaders were the best warriors and chiefs, and they were not selected by any democratic process. Ganga-Zumba ruled during most of the existence of *Palmares*; then he was followed by his warrior son, Zumbi, who did not, the author says, commit suicide as legend has it.

The *Palmarinos* had fled the "rigors of bondage" on the neighboring plantations to seek haven in a region rich in fruits, game, fish, and fertile soil. They made their living by farming and cattle raising, and a few of them were bold enough to trade with neighboring white settlements. The workers were divided into farmers and artisans. And their

religion was a form of Catholicism.

There were seventeen attacks upon Palmares between 1644 and 1694 by Dutch and Luso-Brazilian troops, of which the early ones were in the nature of "police actions" because the attackers had misjudged the military skill and courage of the *Palmarinos*. Governor Fernão de Souza Coutinho of the Capitancy of Pernambuco was the first to realize the true military situation. The settlement was finally destroyed, after a 22-day siege, by the Paulista *bandeirantes* of Domingo Jorge Velho. Thus perished Palmares after defending itself for more than fifty years.

A number of popular sayings originated in the Northeast in regard to the *quilombos*. One is that "It is better to live in a fugitive-slave settlement than in a slum"; another, "A fugitive-slave can be recognized by the whip-scars on his loins." There is a *quilombo*, Curiaú in Pará, in which the descendants of *quilombólas* still live. The hamlet has 312 inhabitants and is more than one hundred years old. Another is the *Quilombo da Jaiba* in the north of Minas Gerais, which is still inhabited.

Senhor Carneiro's present book is the second, revised edition of his *O Quilombo dos Palmares, 1630-1695* (1947). His book is the most extensive account of Palmares accessible to the interested reader. It is readable, scholarly, and has an extensive appendix containing historical documents pertinent to the text.

J.W.I.

*Histoire De La Race Noire Aux Etats-Unis Du XVIIe Siècle à Nos Jours* ["/Story of the Negro in the United States from the Seventeenth Century to the Present-Day"]. Par F. L. Schoell. Paris: Payot, 1959. 248 pp. 1,200 francs.

This tersely written book introduces Frenchmen, and Europeans, to the essentials of the American Negro problem in twenty-six chapters. The author suc-

ceeds admirably. He has something pertinent to say on a variety of topics ranging from slavery, through Reconstruction, down to the current problems of racial integration in the public schools of the South. As a former professor at the Universities of Chicago and California, and Tulane, Dr. Franck Louis Schoell is eminently qualified to write on the American Negro. His two previous books are *U.S.A.: Du Côté des Blancs et du Côté des Noirs* (1929) and *La Question des Noirs aux Etats-Unis* (1923). The book has appendices and a bibliography.

J.W.I.

*The Nature of Prejudice*. By Gordon W. Allport. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958. 496 pp. \$1.45.

This book provides a readable and comprehensive survey of the phenomenon of prejudice in all its nuances and complexities. One of the paradoxes of contemporary life is that though modern industrial and economic development are drawing people closer together, they still prefer to stress their racial differences. One significant advance, however, in the fight against racism and prejudice is the fact that in the United States racism has no official sanction and receives no scholarly support. This title is an abridgement of *The Nature of Prejudice* first published in 1954.

*New World in the Tropics: The Culture of Modern Brazil*. By Gilberto Freyre. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959. 286+XII pp. \$5.00.

This book is a discussion of Brazilian singularity. Brazil is a world apart because of a unique set of historical circumstances. She is, first, an amalgam of America, Europe, and Africa; the Portuguese colonized her, primarily, by procreating because they did not have enough colonists to export. The min-

gling started with the Indians, continued with the Negro, and has been carried on ever since by the multiplication of *mestícos*. Brazil has been colony, kingdom, empire, and is now a republic. As a colony she lived under a comparatively mild system of Portuguese imperialism; she never had a *mystique* of blood purity; and power until the abolition of slavery was concentrated in the hands of her "country squires," the *senhores de engenho*.

Senhor Freyre begins with an examination of the European background of Brazilian history, touches on the Brazilian plantation and frontier, discusses present-day social and racial conditions, comments on Brazil's experiment as a European civilization in the tropics, devotes a short chapter to slavery and monarchy, examines her modern literature and architecture, and closes with a chapter, "Why a Tropical China?"

In discussing Brazilian foreign policy (Ch. VI), he says, among other things:

"From a purely social point of view, such have been the changes for the better in the relations between the two

countries that today even a colored man, if sent as emissary from Brazil to the United States, would probably find a decent (if not warm) reception, at least among the best-educated Americans. The point is important: a changed attitude toward men of colored races seems to some students of inter-American relations essential to the development of Pan Americanism if the latter is to mean real reciprocity and effective mutual respect."

*New World in the Tropics* is a revised edition of *Brazil: An Interpretation* (1945), reviewed in the August, 1946, *Crisis* at page 253, with four new chapters: "Brazil as a European Civilization in the Tropics," "Slavery, Monarch, and Modern Brazil," "Brazilian Architecture: 'Moorish' and 'Roman,'" and "Why a Tropical China?"

Senhor Freyre discusses such a wealth of topics and material that his book is must-reading for anyone who wishes to understand modern Brazil. Incidentally, Senhor Freyre's collected works are published in 42 volumes by José Olympio of Rio de Janeiro.

J.W.I.

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The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would like to ask if any *Crisis* subscribers have old copies of *The Crisis* magazine they would like to dispose of, especially for the years 1910-1930, and for the year 1946. The NAACP would appreciate having them for its files. We would also appreciate any copies of early *Annual NAACP Reports* for the years 1911-1920, and for the year 1954.

Send them to the NAACP Office Manager, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

**Plan Now to Attend**  
**THE 50th JUBILEE**  
**CONVENTION**  
**OF THE NAACP**  
**NEW YORK CITY**  
**JULY 13-JULY 19**

**MISSED POINT**  
(Continued from page 218)

a group of people who are allowed to marry only within their own group, whose children are necessarily placed within the same group, and where the group is treated as having inferior or superior status with respect to other such groups.

**INFERIOR STATUS UNACCEPTABLE**

At no point in my book is there any implication that the word "caste" has any other connotation. I clearly state in several places that American Negroes do not and have not accepted the inferior status as appropriate. Some sociologists give the term "caste" the added meaning that the group assigned inferior status accepts that inferiority. The American Negro does not fit that expanded definition and *The Negro Personality* makes it clear that this definition would hold nowhere in the United States. By the expanded definition, America does not have a "caste" but a "caste-like" system and that for a true "caste" it is said that one must go to India. (Indian psychologists with whom I have talked tell me that they are by no means sure that the lower castes

in India actually accepted their inferiority. It may be that the acceptance is always to some extent a fiction perpetuated by the so-called upper castes.) At any rate, in my book I continually make clear exactly what I mean by the word "caste," that it does not imply acceptance, and that American Negroes do not accept inferior status.

**RACE WAR**

(Continued from page 215)

be revived and we must come to treat the Negro on a plane of absolute political and social equality, or Vardaman and Tilmann will soon have transferred the race war to the North.

Already Vardaman boasts "that such sad experiences as Springfield is undergoing will doubtless cause the people of the North to look with more toleration upon the methods employed by the Southern people."

The day these methods become general in the North every hope of political democracy will be dead, other weaker race and classes will be persecuted in the North as in the South, public education will undergo an eclipse, and American civilization will await either a rapid degeneration or another profounder and more revolutionary civil war, which shall obliterate not only the remains of slavery but all the other obstacles to a free democratic evolution that have grown up in its wake.

Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation, and what large and powerful body of citizens is ready to come to their aid?

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# WHO SAYS OUR BUSINESSMEN AND PROFESSIONALS ARE SLACKERS?

"All those folks want is my money," or, "I wouldn't give him any of my business."

Who hasn't heard such talk from some of our people?

Well, NAACP records say . . . in black and white, that this just isn't true. Our records show Negro business and professionals playing vital roles in branch leadership. Many are life members. In many branches, lawyers, doctors, dentists and self employed business men lead the civil rights fight. In others, the clergy forms a bulwark. Insurance agencies and other businesses have rendered staunch, consistent support.

Yes, an important challenge like civil rights can only be answered from the heart, with intelligence, sincerity and *action*. Civil rights concern is good business. Negroes today appreciate, respect and demand such concern from those they do business with.

So, why not let folks know where you stand. Why not make your shop or office an NAACP membership station. No expense. Convenient. You simply distribute NAACP membership envelopes to folks coming in . . . or, leave them in a convenient spot. Handsome poster available FREE. Let folks see you as you really are. Fill out this coupon today. Prejudice doesn't wait!!!



Miss Lucille Black, Membership Secretary  
NAACP (or Fifth floor, if you prefer)  
20 West 40 Street  
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Miss Black:

I am anxious to prove that business and professionals are not selfish when it comes to civil rights. Please send particulars on NAACP membership stations.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ business or profession \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

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I am enclosing \$..... for the following membership—contributions

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ANNUAL CONDENSED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

*Aid Life Insurance Co., Inc.*

DECEMBER 31, 1958

SETS —

Cash	\$ 101,442.30
Stocks and	1,750,809.25
Policy Loans, in-	date 1,806,602.70
Interest, Rents and	and
Accrued	48,738.18
Total	\$3,707,592.43

— LIABILITIES —

Legal Reserve on Outstanding Policies	\$2,355,736.81
Reserved for Claims, Taxes, Dividends and	
Surplus	178,950.27
	\$2,534,687.08
Capital, Contingent Reserves and Surplus	\$1,172,905.55
Total	\$3,707,592.43

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